/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: : potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of the plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

396 [439] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 412 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows. The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 171 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
292a [174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg
[283] was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[177] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291/ tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[614] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[616] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
771 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared
121 forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
174 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
[126] ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

404 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," ȟ to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

2:Métraux--31 É-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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/327 cont./

[171] consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives
[174] of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

[176] [178] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerŏnimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

[178] [825] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

[182] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

[179] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).

[182] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

329 cont./

778 782 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

778 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a 552 name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of 770 776 the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the

1: I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

616 Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e., 627 makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the 782 Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

778 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous 114 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

/329 cont./
destroying in the villages of the ancient Peruvian empire. The word waka is moreover the equivalent of mal'ku and is also difficult to translate exactly. This difficulty arises from the fact that the demons of the popular Peruvian religion and of modern Čipaya folklore are not very individualized and hard to disengage from the sacred object itself. I am even led to believe that the Indians had only a very vague idea of a spiritual being who was the counterpart of their waka. I will not go so far, however, as to say that the notion of spirit was foreign to the representation which the natives made for themselves out of stones or trees, which they worshiped under the name of waka. /330/ Everything seems to indicate that these sacred objects were considered in themselves as provided with a certain individuality and life. It cannot be otherwise, for wives and children (1) are often attributed to them. This is pre-

1. Santillán (Licenciado Fernando de). "Relación del Origen, Descendencia Politica, y Gobierno de los Incas /Account of the Origin, Political Development, and Government of the Incas/," in Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas /Three Accounts of Ancient Times in Peru/, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33: "Some (huacas) are worshiped as men and others as women and they express their devotion to each one by a kind of necessity." /Cited in Spanish./
Arriaga (F. Pablo Joseph de), Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru. (Reprint, facsimile of the original edition of 1621). Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 12: "others have diverse figures of men or women, and some of these

I 798 M96 113

/330 cont./

> huacas are said to be children or wives of other huacas." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Accounts of the Indians/, Vol. I, p. 75: "and it was so much the practice of these people that there was no idol to whom they did not give a wife and children." /Cited in Spanish./

M *798 M96 •174

cisely the case with the Čipaya mal'ku. In prayers their name is often repeated two times, the first time followed by the word mal'ku and the second time by the epithet tal'a. The latter was explained to me by the Čipaya themselves as designating the wife of the mal'ku. This assertion is accurate because we find in Bertonio's dictionary (2) the word "Ttalla Ccaprhomi: wife of the

> 2. Bertonio. Vocabulario de la lengua aymará, p. 347.

chief man of the town, and the lower relatives of the maycos." /Cited in Spanish./ If the word mal'ku, "chief," finally took on the meaning of "demon," "spirit," it is natural that the word tal'a, "wife of the chief," "noblewoman," should have acquired the sense of "female demon." The mal'ku who are symbolized by these monuments or who are these very monuments personified are hence conceived of as forming a couple. The word pokara, which often follows the word mal'ku in Čipaya prayers, is, it appears, a synonym of mal'ku. The meaning and origin of this term are unknown to me; I am inclined to believe that it is not Aymara but Uro. In this case it would have the meaning "demon," "spirit." Hence the Čipaya church tower is called hača pokara, "great mal'ku."

/332 cont./

*178 191 contains several allusions to mal'ku, which the author confused with the Wasa mal'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronton, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the mal'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household mal'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a mal'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

*178 ● 194 In contrast to the word mal'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Čipaya mal'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

[113]

1. See among others Jijón y Caamaño (J). La religión del Imperio de los Incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, urcos, huancas, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Urcos, Huancas, Machais/." Quito, 1949; Latcham (Ricardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiquos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

/158 cont./

257 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

513 Enormous wool blankets (ču̯si), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[174] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[178] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (ču̯a), full of tallow in which a wick of wool
[177] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[19] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
439 produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[193] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this [194] industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwal-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

/180 cont./

534 [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed the conquest. [194] It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name tʰoti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train 131
from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to
Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over [133]
a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca
River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing,
before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been con- 174 ●
jectured that they may be the descendants of one of the
first groups to reach the American continent. They call 173
themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient
inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid
themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the
first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mum- 172
mies resting in the square sod houses they built long
ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses.
The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably
facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern In-
dians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed 48
that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 86

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanacu about the ninth century; thanks to the recent C_{14} investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun". It is conceivable that at the period of its construction Tiahuanacu was considerably nearer the lakeside than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guanacache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanacu village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" [3]). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

We stop for a moment at the village church which

[3]) BAUDIN, LOUIS: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[Text continues on p. 309-A]
[p. 304-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Akaulle maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Irnita*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uro-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Uru with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Urus, Hunos and Ochomanos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruito [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruito ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uru."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York, 1891), pp. 223-226. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanorum de Geronimo de Oro* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1904), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Oro.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 29-73, 1905), p. 68. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896, cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417-426, 1910), p. 418, from which this record is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlungen 23, 1896), pp. 357-360, idem, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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whereas the *kalas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protolitic substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *kala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymara, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into gowns. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.*

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymara of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "tupus" (Uru *tokolo* [cf. the term for penis, *ziki* ("eggs") *zhiki*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *kalpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ojeivie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymara ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long rollers, together with hammers (*kapaka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *kala*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, *kala*-pairs, spear-handles, the wooden *kala*-making hook (*kayle* or *'kayl*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

* Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 302, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Hilmore (*JSAP* 27, pp. 66-67; 29, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.